

SANSKRIT GERUND CONSTRUCTIONS: SYNTACTIC
DISPUTATIONS

1. Grammatical theorizing in ancient and mediaeval India was not confined to the tradition of Sanskrit grammarians. The traditions of Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya etc. also significantly contributed to grammatical thinking. Apart from general metaphysical discussions concerning the nature of the language, i.e. Sanskrit, and its origin and function, one finds a good deal of 'grammatical' argumentation in works belonging to these systems, and on several topics, the authors belonging to these systems hold opinions different from those held by the Sanskrit grammarians. In this paper, I aim at presenting one such topic where the traditions of Sanskrit grammarians and Mīmāṃsā offer divergent explanations, i.e. the syntax of gerund constructions in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit grammarians themselves are split on the explanation of such constructions. In my recent monograph *Evolution of Syntactic Theory in Sanskrit Grammar: Syntax of the Sanskrit Infinitive -tumUN*, [Linguistica Extranea, Studia 10, Karoma Publishers, Inc., Ann Arbor, 1980], I have attempted to reconstruct the original views held by Pāṇini concerning the syntax of infinitive constructions in Sanskrit, and have also shown in detail how the theories of the later Sanskrit grammarians differ from this original conception. In dealing with infinitives, I also had to deal with gerunds, which are lumped together by all the Sanskrit grammarians in terms of their syntactic behavior. Here, I will briefly present my conclusions concerning the syntactic explanations of gerund constructions provided by the Sanskrit grammarians, and then I will compare and contrast these syntactic explanations with those provided by the mediaeval Mīmāṃsā author Khaṇḍadeva. For the full details of my reconstruction of the early syntactic explanations of infinitive and gerund constructions, the reader is requested to refer to the above-mentioned study. A general knowledge of the *kāraka* system in Pāṇini is taken for granted in the following discussion.

2. For Pāṇini, the *kāraka* denoted by the affixes such as *-tumUN*, *-Ktva*¹ etc., like that denoted by the affix *-tiP*, is *kartṛ* "agent", by rule P.3.4.67 (*kartari kṛt*). This meaning, it may be called syntactic meaning, is invariant and is not dependent on the voice of the main verb. With these assumptions, there are no problems in explaining a sentence such as:

E(1) *rāmaḥ grāmaṁ gatvā jalam pibati*
"Having gone to town, Rama drinks water."

Here, according to Pāṇini's views, both *-Ktvā* and *-tiP* in the forms *gatvā* and *pibati* denote the same agent. This satisfies the condition laid down in P.3.4.21 (*samāna-karṭṛkayoḥ pūrva-kāle*) that the agent of the action denoted by the root in a gerund form must be the same as the agent of the action denoted by the root in the main verbal item.² Since both the affixes in the above example denote the same agent, there is no conflict between these two forms, and hence for their common agent, since it is already expressed (*abhihita*), one gets the nominative case by P.2.3.46 (*prātipadikārtha-līṅga-parimāṇa-vacana-mātre prathamā*). This rule states that, if a *kāraka* has already been denoted by another affix (ref: P.2.3.1 (*anabhihite*)), then the nominative case-affix is added after a nominal stem simply to denote the meaning of the stem, gender, number etc. However, consider the following sentence:

- (E)2 *rāmeṇa grāmaṁ gatvā jalam pīyate*
 “Having gone to town, water is drunk by Rama.”

Here, according to Pāṇini's views, the affix *-Ktvā* still denotes the agent (*karṭṛ*)-, but the passive affix *-te* in the main verb *pīyate* denotes the object (*karman*); Ref: P.3.4.69 (*laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*), and P.1.3.13 (*bhāva-karmaṇoḥ*) with the word *ātmanepadam* (from P.1.3.12). Therefore, in Pāṇinian terms, the agent is at once both *abhihita* ‘expressed’ by *-Ktvā* and *anabhihita* ‘not expressed’ by *-te*, and hence there is a conflict. If the agent were only *abhihita* ‘expressed’, then we should have the nominative *rāmaḥ* in E(2), while if the agent were only *anabhihita* ‘not expressed’, then we should have the instrumental case-form *rāmeṇa* by P.2.3.18 (*karṭṛ-karaṇayos tṛtīyā*). It may only be mentioned here that there is no direct statement in the original Pāṇinian system which would help us resolve this derivational conflict and help us derive E(2).

3. Kātyāyana, sensing these problems in the original system of Pāṇini, proposes that one should consider the affixes such as *-tumUN* and *-Ktvā* as denoting the same syntactic meaning as that of the affix in the main finite verb in the same sentence.³ This, to put it in other words, implies that if the main verb is active, then the gerund is active; and if the main verb is passive, then the gerund is passive. Now consider the following:

- E(3) *rāmaḥ grāmaṁ gatvā jalam pibati*
 “Having gone to town, Rama drinks water.”

Here, according to Kātyāyana, both *-Ktvā* and *-tiP* denote the same agent and hence there is no conflict between these forms, and hence no problems in explaining E(3). However, consider the passive sentence:

- E(4) *rāmeṇa grāmaṁ gatvā jalam pīyate*
 “Having gone to town, water is drunk by Rama.”

Here, according to Kātyāyana, the affix *-Ktvā* must denote the object (*karman*), since the main verb *pīyate* is passive. If, for this reason, the form *gatvā* is considered to be a passive form, then the independent object of this form, i.e. *grāma*, must take a nominative case-ending. In other words, if we accept Kātyāyana’s theory, we cannot explain the accusative *grāmaṁ* in E(4). This can be explained only if this object (*karman*) is *anabhihita* ‘not expressed’.

4. Patañjali points out these problems in Kātyāyana’s proposals,⁴ and proposes⁵ that affixes like *-Ktvā* and *-tumUN* neither denote *karṭr* ‘agent’, nor *karman* ‘object’, but invariably denote only *bhāva* ‘action’. Though Patañjali goes this far, his proposals are neither historically Pāṇinian, nor theoretically satisfactory,⁶ and create problems in explaining even the most common sentences. Consider:

- E(5) *rāmaḥ grāmaṁ gatvā jalam pibati*
 “Having gone to town, Rama drinks water.”

Here, according to Patañjali, the affix *-Ktvā* denotes *bhāva* ‘action’, while the affix *-tiP* denotes *karṭr* ‘agent’. Thus the same agent remains unexpressed (*anabhihita*) by the affix *-Ktvā*, while it is expressed by the affix *-tiP*. Hence there is a fundamental conflict between these two forms, and, like Pāṇini, Patañjali has provided no explicit solution to resolve these problems, nor has he shown even an awareness of these problems.

5. It is Bhartṛhari who comes up with a fully formed solution to these problems for the first time in the history of Sanskrit grammar. His ideas have been accepted by the later Pāṇinian tradition, and may be stated below:⁷

When an entity is separately related to a main (*pradhāna*) and a subordinate (*gauṇa*) action, in such contexts the particular *kāraṇa* relation based on the subordinate action abides by the *kāraṇa* relation based on the main action.

Where the particular *kāraṇa* relation with respect to the main action is expressed (*abhihita*) by the main verbal affix, the *kāraṇa* relation with respect to the subordinate action, even though not expressed, becomes expressed.

With these statements, Bhartṛhari solves problems which Patañjali has not even mentioned.⁸ He accepts Patañjali’s notion that the affix *-Ktvā* invariably denotes *bhāva* ‘action’.⁹ However, with his theoretical solution, we can satisfactorily deal with the following sentences:

- E(6) *rāmaḥ grāmaṁ gatvā jalam pibati*
 “Having gone home, Rama drinks water.”

Here, the affix *-Ktvā* denotes, according to Patañjali and Bhartṛhari, only the action and leaves the agent and the object unexpressed (*anabhihita*). This easily explains the accusative case of the independent object of *gatvā* by P.2.3.2 (*karmaṇi dvitīyā*) coupled with P.2.3.1 (*anabhihite*). These two rules together provide an accusative case ending for a word denoting the object, when this property of being the object has not been otherwise denoted by another affix on the verb etc. Though the affix *-Ktvā* also leaves the agent unexpressed, this does not lead to an instrumental case ending for the word *rāma*. Since the same Rama is the agent of the main action of drinking and since his agenthood has already been expressed by the affix *-tiP* in the main verb *pibati*, to use Bhartṛhari's words, his agency with respect to the subordinate action of going appears as if it has been expressed (*abhihitavat prakāśate*),¹⁰ though it has not really been expressed by the affix *-Ktvā*. This basically amounts to saying that the case endings of shared *kāraṅkas* are determined by their relation to the main verb. This solves problems in all the examples discussed above, whether we accept the historically Pāṇinian view that *-Ktvā* denotes *kartr* 'agent', or Patañjali's view that it only denotes *bhāva* 'action'. Bhartṛhari's principle has been used by Kaiyaṭa to shore up Patañjali's inconclusive discussion.¹¹

6. It may be noted that despite the great differences among themselves, the Sanskrit grammarians were trying to determine the case endings of words like *rāma* in sentences like

- E(7) *rāmaḥ grāmaṁ gatvā jalam pibati*
 "Having gone to town, Rama drinks water", or

of words like *odana* in sentences like

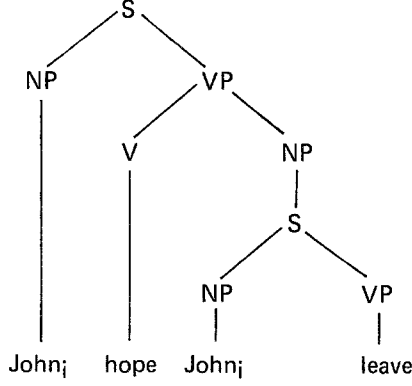
- E(8) *rāmeṇa odanaḥ paktvā bhujyate*¹²
 "Rice, having been cooked, is eaten by Rama",

by making a simultaneous reference to two actions and two verbal items. Attempts to solve conflicts are made by means of adjusting the meaning of affixes, creating effective hierarchies between actions etc. However, no Sanskrit grammarian has suggested that in the pre-final derivational stages there are two forms of the word *rāma* or *odana*, one related to the gerund and the other related to the main verb, and that one of these two forms is deleted in the final stage by a procedure such as equi-NP-deletion in Transformational Grammar. For the Sanskrit grammarians, there is only a single case-form jointly related to the gerund (or an infinitive) and the main verb. And, as it will be clarified later, they may be right in doing so.

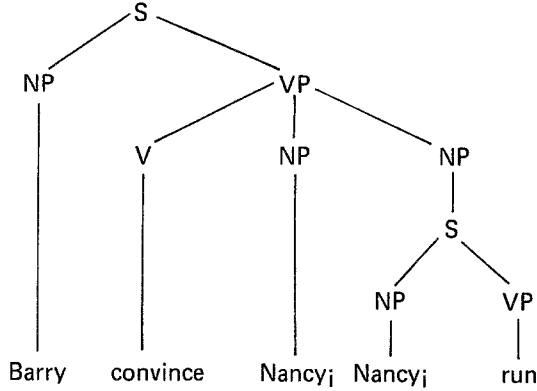
7. At this stage, we may briefly look at the notion of equi-NP-deletion in

Transformational Grammar. The Transformational trees for the following sentences are presented below.¹³

E(9) John hoped to leave.



E(10) Barry convinced Nancy to run.

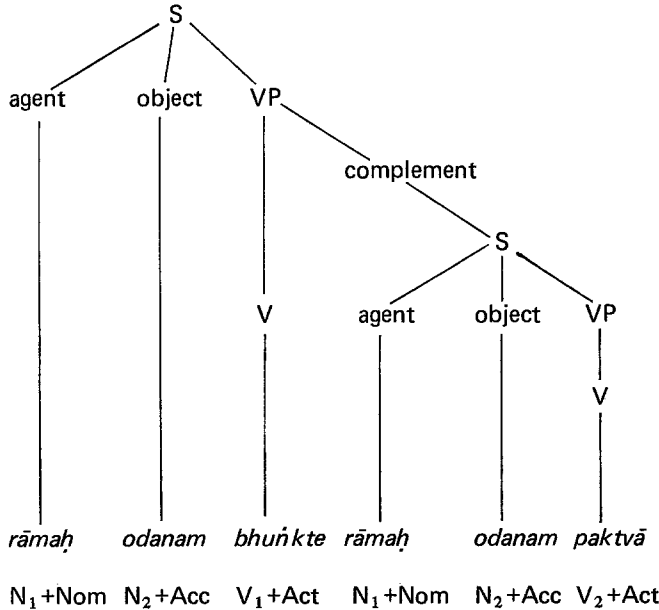


Examination of these diagrams "will make it obvious that the effect of this transformation is to delete the subject N[oun] P[hrase] of an embedded sentence when that NP is co-referential with an NP higher in the tree."¹⁴ It may be noted that the Sanskrit grammarians are not deriving gerund or infinitive constructions by embedding sentences, even by referring to their own notion of what a sentence is.¹⁵ If, however, the transformational equi-NP-deletion procedure were introduced into the operation of Sanskrit grammarians, JUST FOR THE SAKE OF DEMONSTRATION, we may be able to see the pre-deletion forms in the gerund clauses more distinctly, and the morphological impact of differences held concerning the meaning of *-Ktvā* will become more transparent. The following diagrams take for

granted that the main verb and the gerund separately determine the case endings of the object-words and agent-words related to them, and show, as it were, the pre-final or pre-deletion stages in the derivation. This is only an exercise and is not intended to impute such actual reasoning on the part of the Sanskrit grammarians. [Such a reanalysis is necessary to compare the views of the Sanskrit grammarians with those of the Mīmāṃsaka author Khaṇḍadeva. The competing morphological possibilities in the derivations given by the Sanskrit grammarians are presented here as pairs of forms in a pre-final string.] These diagrams describe the sentences 1) *rāmaḥ paktvā odanam bhuñkte*, “Rama eats rice, having cooked (it)”, and 2) *rāmeṇa paktvā odanaḥ bhujyate*, “Rice, having been cooked, is eaten by Rama”. Abbreviations: N = Noun, V = Verbal item, Nom = Nominative, Acc = Accusative, Instr = Instrumental, Act = Active, and Psv = Passive.

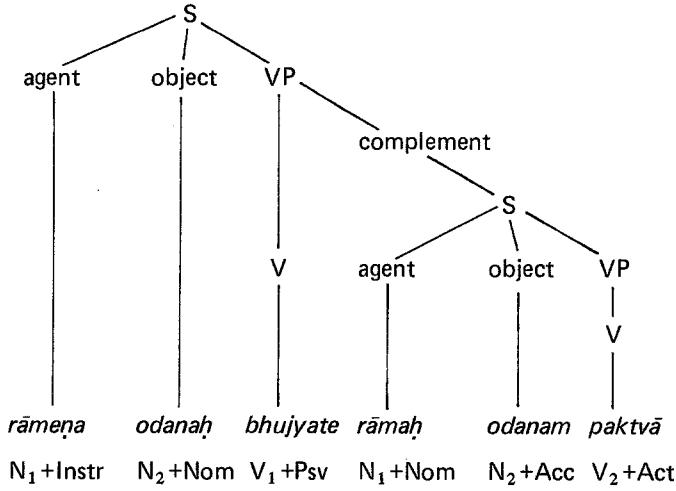
8. [PSEUDO]-PĀṆINIAN TREES:

Tree A



Tree A shows that, given the historically Pāṇinian view that *-Ktvā* denotes the agent, the verbal forms *bhuñkte* and *paktvā* lead to true equi-s, and, if there were an equi-NP-deletion procedure in Pāṇini's grammar, this sentence would have no trouble at all.

Tree B

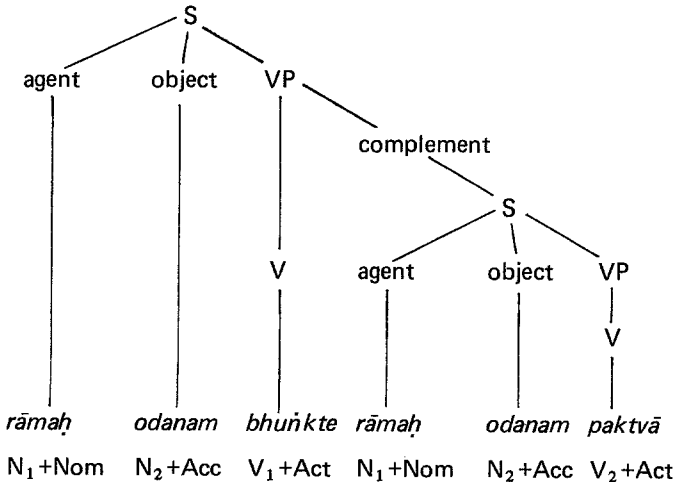


Tree B indicates the lack of true equi-s generated by the verbal items *bhujiyate* which is passive and *paktvā* which is active. There is no way in the original Pāṇinian system to delete or supersede the forms when marked by the cases governed by *paktvā* in the above diagram.

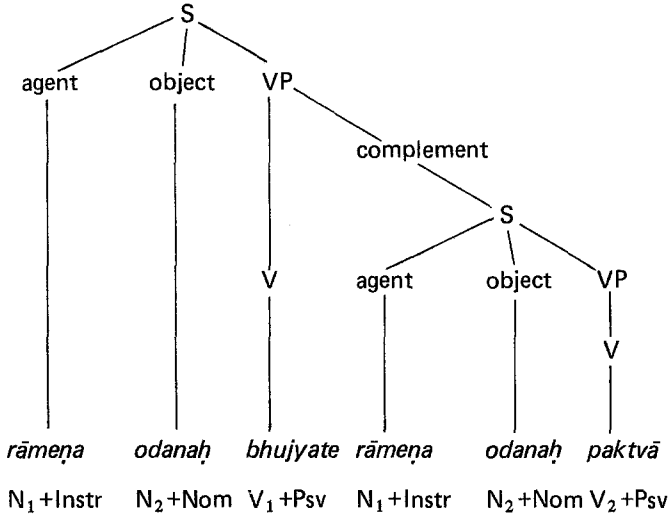
9. Kātyāyana's suggestion that the gerund-affix is co-referential with the main verb affix is his attempt to force both the gerund and the main verb to produce true equi-s. This is seen in the trees below:

[PSEUDO]-KĀTYĀYANIAN TREES

Tree C



Tree D

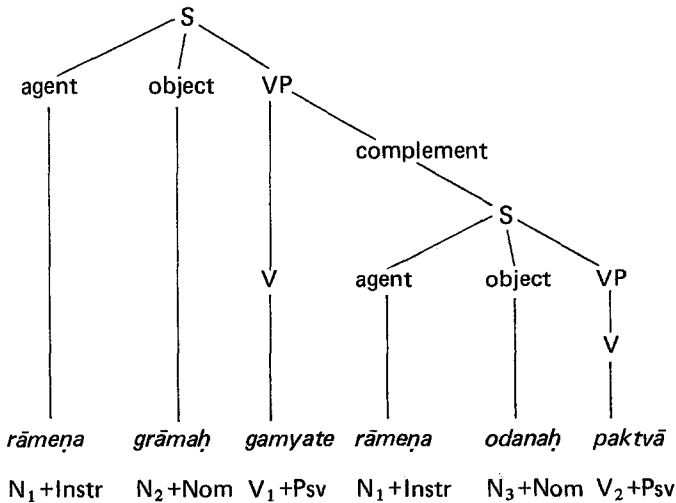


The trees C and D show how Kāṭyāyana's theory produces true equi-s in the case of the two sentences. However, as pointed out earlier, if the voice of a gerund is made dependent on that of the main verb, then we have problems in examples such as

- E(11) *odanam paktvā grāmo gamyate rāmeṇa*
 “(Rama) having cooked rice, the town is gone to by Rama.”

A pseudo-Kāṭyāyanian tree of this sentence may be given as below:

Tree E

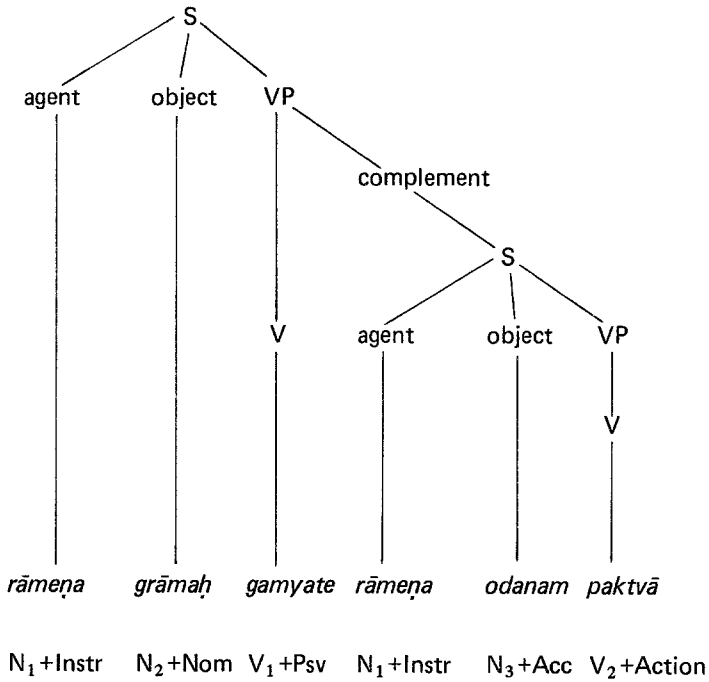


Kātyāyana's theory forces morphological equi-s, such as the nominatives *grāmaḥ* and *odanaḥ*, when actually the usage requires *odanam paktvā*. This cannot be obtained, if the voice of the gerund is always determined by the main verb.

10. [PSEUDO]-PATAÑJALIAN TREES

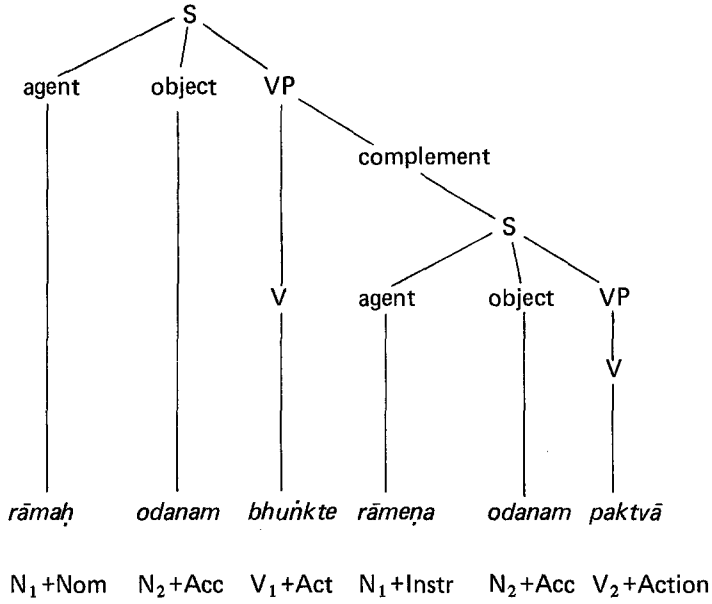
Patañjali's view that a gerund-affix always denotes only the action, and not the agent or the object, yields an acceptable tree for the example E(11) with required equi-s and non-equi-s:

Tree F

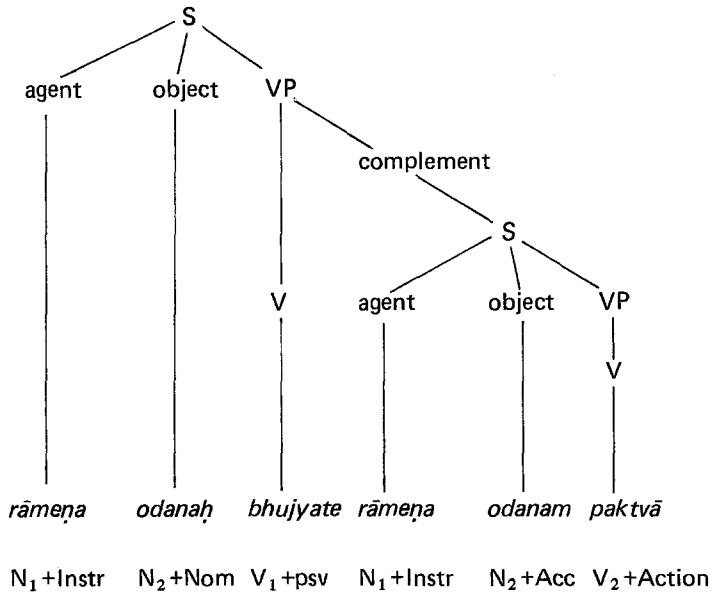


While Patañjali's theory thus provides the required equi-s and non-equi-s in the above example, it fails in the case of 1) *rāmaḥ odanam paktvā bhuṅkte*, and 2) *rāmeṇa odanaḥ paktvā bhuṅyate*, in that it neither produces true equi-s as required, nor proposes a way to delete the unwanted non-equi-s. See the following diagrams:

Tree G



Tree H



In neither of the above trees we see true equi-s, i.e. Tree G has *rāmaḥ/rāmeṇa*, while Tree H has *odanaḥ/odanam*, and as I have pointed out earlier, there is no device in Patañjali's work by which the first forms in these pairs can supersede the seconds.

What has Bhartṛhari done? He has not provided a means to produce true equi-s in cases where Patañjali's theory fails to produce them, but he simply recognizes the hierarchy between the main action and the subordinate action, or in Transformational terms, the difference between 'higher in the tree' and 'lower in the tree'. Given such a hierarchy, Bhartṛhari would only retain the form which appears 'higher in the tree', and suppress the form which occurs 'lower in the tree'. I should mention once again that the above analysis is not a literal representation of the theories of Sanskrit grammarians, but a convenient reanalysis in Transformational terms. None of the Sanskrit grammarians actually propose the strings which appear in these Trees above.

11. One of my purposes in presenting the trees and the pre-final strings in these earlier sections has been to be able to comprehend an analysis of the Sanskrit gerund constructions as proposed by the Mīmāṃsā author Khaṇḍadeva. As we shall see, there is a great deal of similarity between these strings and the strings proposed by Khaṇḍadeva to account for the Sanskrit gerund constructions. We will concentrate only on certain aspects of Khaṇḍadeva's discussions, and not delve into other details. Khaṇḍadeva offers the following example:¹⁶

E(12) *caitraḥ paktvā caitro bhuñkte*
 "Caitra having cooked, Caitra eats."

In the above example, Khaṇḍadeva repeats the word *caitra* twice, once in relation to *paktvā*, and then in relation to *bhuñkte*, thus giving us two surface forms. Though this string appears to be extremely similar to the strings in Trees A and C above, Khaṇḍadeva does not intend his string to be a pre-final derivational string, but as a final string and hence he implicitly attaches a certain kind of grammaticality to it. The string provided by Khaṇḍadeva is extremely valuable in that this is the only attempt in the entire range of Indian linguistic analysis, where an author actually spells out how a gerund would independently produce surface forms of its own *kāraṇas*. Khaṇḍadeva justifies the nominative *caitraḥ* of the agent-word in relation to *paktvā* by stating that the affix *-Ktvā* denotes the same agent as that of the main verb, and hence, in effect, denotes the agent (*kartr*).¹⁷ In other words, in Khaṇḍadeva's opinion, the gerund form is an inherently active voice form. Since the agent is thus already expressed by the gerund affix, one has to have the nominative case for the agent-word *caitra* to express its own meaning (*prātipadikārtha*) and gender etc. [Ref: P.2.3.46].

12. If one accepts Khaṇḍadeva's view about the syntactic meaning of the affix *-Ktvā*, i.e. its inherent active voice, then we could derive the following passive string:

- E(13) *caitraḥ paktvā caitreṇa bhujyate*
 "Caitra having cooked, eating is done by Caitra."

The inherent active voice of the gerund ought to remain unchanged, despite the fact that the main verb is passive, and hence the agent word *caitra* in relation to the gerund *paktvā* ought to occur in the nominative. This string looks very similar to the string in Tree B, and is partly produced due to similar assumptions. The ability of a gerund form to exact the nominative case for its agent, independently of the main verb, is historically attested in a few pre-Pāṇinian and post-Pāṇinian usages.¹⁸

However, Khaṇḍadeva finds the string in E(13) unacceptable, and the only passive sentence acceptable to him is:¹⁹

- E(14) *caitreṇa paktvā caitreṇa bhujyate*
 "Cooking having been done by Caitra, eating is done by Caitra."

This particular string appears to be very similar to the strings in Trees D, E, F, and H, though in each case the underlying reasons for the resulting equi-pair of the agent-word are different. Khaṇḍadeva is sure about the desirability of the surface forms in E(14), though he is not sure as to how to derive them. A sentence such as this conflicts with his own earlier view that a gerund-affix denotes the agent, because the agent of an active voice verbal item such as a gerund must appear in the nominative. With the conviction that the surface form of a passive sentence must be like E(14), and not like E(13), Khaṇḍadeva proposes to achieve this aim by considering the instrumental case form *caitreṇa* in *caitreṇa paktvā* of E(14) as representing an instrument (*karana*), and not the agent (*kartṛ*).²⁰ Though such an explanation may justify the use of the instrumental case of the word *caitra* in *caitreṇa paktvā* in E(14), it by itself has no ability to restrict the derivation of a sentence such as E(13), which Khaṇḍadeva considers to be unacceptable. There is no reason why *caitra* can be an agent in an active voice sentence, and that he must cease to function as an agent and become an instrument for the sake of a passive sentence. On the contrary, once we permit *caitra*, the true agent, to be reclassified as an instrument for the sake of a passive sentence, there is no reason why such a reclassification should not also be operative in active voice. This would force upon us the derivation of a sentence like:

- E(15) *caitreṇa paktvā caitro bhuñkte*
 "Cooking having been done by Caitra, Caitra eats."

This string appears to be similar to the string in Tree G, though for very different reasons. Khaṇḍadeva does not discuss how he can stop the production of sentences such as E(15). Thus Khaṇḍadeva's explanation is not very systematic.

16. Khaṇḍadeva's discussion makes one thing very certain. He has definite ideas about which surface structures are acceptable and which are not, but he has no such definite preference for particular syntactic explanations. Syntactic explanations for him are clearly negotiable, while the surface forms are not. This is also true of the discussions found in the works of Sanskrit grammarians.²¹ Khaṇḍadeva is so clearly opposed to a structure such as E(13), which is made incumbent by his view that the gerund affix denotes the agent, that he is willing to abandon this view to stop its derivation. He is willing to accept Patañjali's view that the affix *-Ktvā* denotes only the action, and not the agent or the object.²² With this view he can certainly derive the desired structure, i.e. E(14), and stop the derivation of E(13). But choosing Patañjali's theory does not solve all the problems. It in fact creates new difficulties for Khaṇḍadeva. While his earlier view, i.e. the inherent active voice of gerunds, allows him to derive the active structure E(12), his acceptance of Patañjali's views would not allow him to derive that structure. Instead, he can only derive the structure represented in E(15), which is not very desirable to him. Thus, his shifts in the syntactic argumentation are not very well-motivated, but are *ad hoc*, and do not take into account all the implications.

17. Why did Khaṇḍadeva land himself in all these problems? He was obviously not producing the pre-deletion strings such as the strings in Transformational Grammar. Nor did Khaṇḍadeva consider the strings given by him to be pre-final strings in some other scheme. If that were so, he could have chosen to write some kind of rules or found some principles to get rid of the morphologically divergent but lexically and referentially identical forms in the gerund clauses. In fact, as pointed out earlier, Bhartṛhari's principle does this to a certain extent. However, Khaṇḍadeva does not follow this course, and instead finds himself stuck with unacceptable case-forms in the gerund clauses, no matter which theory he chooses.

The origin of his problems lies in his being a follower of the school of Bhāṭṭamīmāṃsā. The two main branches of the school of Mīmāṃsā, i.e. Bhāṭṭamīmāṃsā and Prābhākaramīmāṃsā, hold different views concerning the particular way of interpreting ellipsis. While the Prābhākaramīmāṃsā school believes in the notion of *arthādhyāhāra*, the Bhāṭṭamīmāṃsā school, along with the school of Nyāya, believes in the notion of *śabdādhyāhāra*.²³ The difference between these two views is clarified below.

18. The first theory of interpreting ellipsis, i.e. *arthādhyāhāra*, holds that to be

able to fully understand an elliptical sentence such as '(Close) the door' (*pidhehi dvāram*), it is sufficient to assume simply the meaning of the missing word to supplement the meaning derived from the word actually available in the utterance. On the other hand, the theory of *śabdādhyāhāra* holds that in order to be able to fully understand an elliptical sentence, one must first reconstruct the words which are missing, and then this reconstructed complete sentence will yield its complete meaning in a normal way. In Mīmāṃsā texts, we find detailed arguments regarding these theories,²⁴ but we shall not go into those details here. Suffice it to say that the first view is held by the school of Prābhākaramīmāṃsā, and the second view is held by the Bhāṭṭamīmāṃsā school to which Khaṇḍadeva belongs. Since the assumption of meaning-items to complete an elliptical sentence does not involve the burden of reconstructing the surface forms of the missing words, one does not have to worry about the grammatical features of these surface forms. On the other hand, the second theory entails the full derivation of the missing words and hence involves the responsibility to see through the entire process of making sure that the reconstructed missing words get 'appropriate' case endings etc. The 'appropriateness' of the grammatical features of the reconstructed forms can only be judged by comparing such reconstructed constructions with other natural full constructions.

19. Khaṇḍadeva as a zealous follower of the Bhāṭṭamīmāṃsā school not only accepts the doctrine of filling an elliptical construction with reconstructed words, he is extending this doctrine to gerund and infinitive constructions as well. The first underlying assumption in Khaṇḍadeva's discussion is that gerund constructions are elliptical constructions, and his second assumption is that, since these are elliptical constructions, they can be 'completed' by reconstructing the missing words. That this was his orientation is clear from his writings. Consider a normal gerund construction such as:

E(16) *caitreṇa bhuktvā gamyate*

Lit.: "Having eaten, going is done by Caitra."

In such a sentence, the agent-word in the instrumental, i.e. *caitreṇa*, actually occurs only once. The fact that there is only one word is interpreted by Khaṇḍadeva to mean that it can only be connected with one action, i.e. the main action of going, and that it has no connection with the other action of eating.²⁵ Thus, Khaṇḍadeva explains the instrumental case of the agent word *caitreṇa* by referring to its only connection, i.e. that with the main passive verb *gamyate*.²⁶ Khaṇḍadeva openly rejects the view expressed by Bhartṛhari that a shared *kāraka* such as the agent Caitra in this example does have simultaneous relations with the main and the subordinate actions, though the actual case ending in the surface only shows its

connection with the main action.²⁷ Khaṇḍadeva rejects the idea that one word can have two such simultaneous relations with two actions. On the contrary, he proposes that if a thing is related to two different actions in the above manner, and if the surface sentence shows only one word, then such a sentence must be considered to be an elliptical sentence, and the missing words can and must be filled with reconstructed words to have a full access to the two intended simultaneous relationships. He discusses the following example:²⁸

- E(17) *paktvā odanaḥ bhujyate*
 “Rice, having been cooked, is eaten.”

Referring to this example, Khaṇḍadeva says that if one intends the relationship of rice to both cooking and eating simultaneously, then this sentence must be viewed as an elliptical sentence, and the missing word must be reconstructed as follows:²⁹

- E(18) *odanam paktvā odanaḥ bhujyate*
 “Having cooked rice, rice is eaten.”

Here, Khaṇḍadeva has reconstructed the accusative form *odanam* to fill the apparent missing object of the gerund *paktvā*, and in this process he has to justify the particular choice of accusative.³⁰ To justify his reconstruction, he offers the following usages as examples:³¹

- E(19) *odanam bhuktvā sāstram paṭhyate*
 “Having eaten rice, the sacred text is recited (or read).”

- E(20) *śrutvā api artham nānumataḥ tena saḥ arthaḥ kubuddhinā*
 “Even having heard that matter, that matter was not approved by that ill-witted person.”

In both of these usages, the objects of the gerunds *bhuktvā* and *śrutvā* have been separately provided, and they are in the accusative case. However, both of these examples are actually somewhat different from E(18). E(18) presents a very normal gerund construction where the gerund and the main verb share an object in common. In E(19), the gerund has a totally independent object, which has nothing to do with the main verb. Hence this independent object of the gerund must be mentioned separately. In E(20), though seemingly the gerund and the main verb have the same object, the sentence is clearly marked with emphasis (ref: *api*), and hence the provision of *artham* with *śrutvā* is necessary to enhance the intended emphasis. The example E(18) does not show such an emphasis. Thus, Khaṇḍadeva is right in claiming that if one provides an independent object for the gerund, that object must appear in the accusative case, but he is indeed on questionable grounds when he claims that reconstruction of such an object-word is necessary simply to

show that that object has a relation with the gerund, even though the gerund-action and the main action have the same object. Precisely for this reason, the frequency of usages like E(18) is very very low, and such a repetition of a shared *kāraka* occurs only in a highly marked context, such as that of emphasis in E(20). In each case of a *kāraka* shared by the gerund-action and the main action, the *kāraka* indeed has two simultaneous relations, though one of these is the main relation, and the other is the subordinate relation. While the main relation is given directly by the inflection on the word denoting that shared *kāraka*, the other relation is to be understood from the context. These constructions are not trully elliptical constructions, where the ellipsis can and must be filled by reconstructed words. The fact that they are not truly elliptical constructions is betrayed by Khaṇḍadeva's failure in filling the so-called missing words, with 'appropriate' inflections. This is particularly evident in the problems he has in dealing with constructions such as E(13) and E(15). There is almost no external standard for judging the appropriateness of such reconstructions involving the shared agent, because the shared agent is almost never repeated twice. Precisely for this reason, such constructions may not be considered to be trully elliptical constructions. The construction 'the door', in the place of 'open the door', can be considered to be a trully elliptical construction, precisely because the expanded construction 'open the door' is an integral part of the object language. This is normally not the case with gerund or infinitive constructions in Sanskrit.

20. Khaṇḍadeva, in my opinion, has wrongly extended the notion of ellipsis to gerund constructions in Sanskrit. What is at fault is not so much the Bhāṭṭamīmāṃsā doctrine that an ellipsis must be filled with actually reconstructed words, but the fact that Khaṇḍadeva has failed in making a clear distinction between true ellipsis and unstated but contextually recoverable relationships. Only those cases of unstated but contextually recoverable relationships are truly elliptical, where the expanded reconstruction is matched by a parallel but natural construction in the object language. Otherwise, the so-called extended reconstruction is only a fiction, perhaps useful in grammatical theory, but with no claims to any linguistic reality. Such for instance must be the case with all deletion rules in modern linguistics. Deletion rules can be said to describe elliptical constructions, only if the pre-deletion constructions are a legitimate part of the object language. Otherwise, the pre-deletion constructs such as "John_i hope John_j leave", produced to describe the post-deletion object language construction "John hoped to leave", must be treated as part of the particular metalanguage, and one must not make any claims to their linguistic reality. To this extent, I think the Sanskrit grammarians are justified in not viewing these constructions as elliptical constructions, and trying to derive just one surface form, which has two simultaneous links, one with the main action and the other with the subordinate action.

21. Khaṇḍadeva's insistence on viewing gerund constructions as elliptical constructions has landed him in a final contradiction. After all this effort to show the necessity of reconstructing the missing words in the gerund clauses (*padādhyāhāra*), Khaṇḍadeva is finally forced to admit that such fully reconstructed gerund clauses, e.g. *caitraḥ paktvā caitro bhuñkte*, are indeed never seen in actual usage (*aprayoga eva*).³² My main objection against Khaṇḍadeva's analysis is that he does not perceive any inconsistency between the necessity of actually reconstructing the so-called missing words to their full derivation (*padādhyāhāra*) and the fact that such fully reconstructed usages are never indeed attested in usage (*aprayoga*). Even if we keep aside the somewhat extreme opinion of Bhartṛhari that there is no elliptical construction at all,³³ Patañjali's discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* suggests that we can call a construction elliptical or truncated (*vākyaikadeśa*: lit. 'part of a sentence'), only if there be a full sentence in usage to compare to.³⁴ This seems to be a reasonable position on ellipsis, and Khaṇḍadeva's views in this regard seem to be less than reasonable.

NOTES

¹ Deshpande (1980: 47–55).

² The main verbal item need not be a finite verb. It may be a participle, e.g. *rāmaḥ grāmaṁ gatvā jalam pītavān*, or even a verbal noun, e.g. *jalam pītvā bhojanam doṣāya*. It is not Pāṇini, but it is Kātyāyana who argues for the necessity of having a finite verb (*tiṅ*) in a sentence. See: Deshpande (1980: 8ff and 13ff.).

³ *Vārttika*: *ā ca tumunah samānādhikaraṇe*, on P.3.4.26. For a detailed discussion, see Deshpande (1980: 70–74). Literally, this *Vārttika* means that infinitive affixes and gerund affixes denote the same thing (*adhikaraṇa*) which is denoted by the main verbal affix. It particularly has problems with passive main clauses. For instance, in a sentence such as *rāmeṇa grāmaṁ gatvā odanaḥ bhujyate*, the gerund and the main verb have different objects, and hence, even if both be said to denote the same meaning *karman* ('object'), they could not possibly denote the same object. In a sentence such as *rāmeṇa hasitvā odanaḥ bhujyate*, Kātyāyana's suggestion would require that the affix *-Ktvā* should denote *karman* 'object'. However, the verb *has* "smile, laugh", being an intransitive verb, cannot have the affix *-Ktvā* in this sense.

⁴ *MB*, on P.3.4.26, Vol. 2, p. 253.

⁵ *MB*, on P.3.4.26, Vol. 2, p. 253; on P.3.4.9, Vol. 2, p. 247. Also Deshpande (1980: 50ff).

⁶ Deshpande (1980: 52ff).

⁷ *Vākyapadīya*, 3.7.81–2.

⁸ Kaiyata's *Pradīpa*, *MB*, Vol. 2, p. 253, and Deshpande (1980: 78).

⁹ *Vākyapadīya*, 3.7.83 (*ktvānte bhāvābhidhāyini*).

¹⁰ *Kāśikāvṛtti* on P.3.4.36; *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota*, *MB*, Vol. 2, pp. 253–54.

¹¹ *Pradīpa*, *MB*, Vol. 2, pp. 253–54.

¹² For Patañjali's examples, see Deshpande (1980: 75ff).

¹³ Grinder and Elgin (1973: 102).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ For the notion of 'sentence' and Sanskrit grammarians and other Indic systems, see: Matilal (1966); Devasthali, G. V. "Vākya According to the Munitraya of Sanskrit Grammar", *Charudeva Shastri Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1974; Deshpande (1978) and (1980: 8ff and 13ff).

- ¹⁶ *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, p. 41.; *ata eva ktvā-pratyayenāpi samāna-karṭṛkatvābhidhānāt* “*caitraḥ paktvā Caitro bhuṅkte*” *ity atrāḍya-caitra-pade*’ *pi prathamopapattiḥ*.
- ¹⁷ *ktvā-pratyayena kartur upādānāt*, *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, p. 41.
- ¹⁸ Deshpande (1980: 135–36, n. 52).
- ¹⁹ *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, p. 41.
- ²⁰ *na caivaṁ caitreṇa paktvā caitreṇa bhuḥyate ity atrāḍya-caitra-pade tṛtīyānāpattiḥ*, *ktvā-pratyayena kartur upādānāt ity vācyaṁ / tatra ātmānam ātmanā vetsi, anena jīvenātmanānu-praviśya nāma-rūpe vyākaraṇvāni, ity-ādi-vat karaṇatvasya tṛtīyārthatvāt /*, *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, p. 41.
- ²¹ Deshpande (1980: 126).
- ²² *yadi tv asmin pakṣe Caitro bhuktvā caitreṇa gamyate iti prayogāpattiḥ iti vibhāvyate, tadā māstu ktvā-pratyayaśya samāna-karṭṛkatva-pūrva-kālatvayoḥ śaktiḥ / kintu bhāva-kṛt-tvāt bhāva eva /*, *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, p. 43.
- ²³ *Mīmāṃsākośa*, Vol. 2, pp. 662–63; *Nyāyakośa*, p. 868, and K. Raja (1963: 170 ff).
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *evaṁ caitreṇa bhuktvā gamyate ity atra caitrasya bhuji-kriyāyām ananvayāt gamana-kriyāyām anvayāṅgikāreṇa tṛtīyopapattiḥ /*, *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, p. 42.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ *evaṁ ca paktvaudano bhuḥyate ity-ādau paci-dhātoḥ karmākāṅkṣāyām dvitīyāntaudana-padādhyāhāreṇa vākya-bhūtaṁ / na hi pradhānakriyāyām uktasya kārakasya guṇa-bhūta-kriyāyām apy uktir iti niyame pramāṇam asti, yenādhyāhāraṁ vināpi vākyam pūryeta /*, *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, p. 42.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.
- ³² *evaṁ ca caitraḥ paktvā Caitro bhuṅkte ity aprayoga eva / pradhānakriyāyām uktasya karṭṛ-kārakasyaiva guṇa-bhūta-kriyāyām apy uktir iti niyamāṅgikāreṇa vā tasya sādhutvam / . . . ata eva caitreṇa paktvā Caitro bhuṅkte ity apy aprayogaḥ /*, *Bhāṭṭatantrarahasya*, p. 43.
- ³³ *Vākyapadīya*, 2.326ff; and K. Raja (1963: 175ff).
- ³⁴ *dr̥ṣyante hi vākyeṣu vākyaiḥkadeśān prayuñjānāḥ, padeṣu padaikadeśān / vākyeṣu tāvad vākyaiḥkadeśān – praviśa, piṇḍim; praviśa, tarpaṇam iti / padeṣu padaikadeśān – devadattah dattah, satyabhāmā bhāmeti /*, *MB*, Vol. I, Sec. I, p. 252.

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